

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13284

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR

SUBJ: USSR-JAPAN: HIRASAWA ARTICLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

SUMMARY: FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUARTERLY ARTICLE BY MIKI CONFIDANT PROPOSING ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET TERMS FOR PEACE TREATY HAS CAUSED UPROAR IN JAPAN. SPECULATION ABOUT MOTIVATION BEHIND ARTICLE INCLUDES INTRIGUING HYPOTHESIS THAT PROPOSAL A TACTICAL MANEUVER DESIGNED TO CONFUSE SOVIETS AND SOFTEN MOSCOW REACTION AGAINST CONCLUSION OF SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY ON CHINESE TERMS. END SUMMARY.

1. ARTICLE BY KAZUSHIGE HIRASAWA IN OCTOBER ISSUE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS CAUSED UPROAR IN JAPAN. HIRAWAWA, A JOURNALIST WIDELY KNOWN AS LEADING FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER TO PRIME MINISTER MIKI, PROPOSES IN ARTICLE THAT: JAPAN SHELVE UNTIL END OF CENTURY TERRITORIAL CLAIMS TO SOVIET-OCCUPIED ISLANDS OF KUNAHIRI AND ETOROFU; ACCEPT SOVIET OFFER TO RETURN TWO ISLANDS OF F HOKKAIDO, SHIKOTAN AND HABOMAI; AND CONCLUDE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION.

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2. THOUGH HIRASAWA CLEARLY LABELED HIS PROPOSAL A "PRIVATE VIEW," FONOFF HAS BEEN DELUGED WITH QUERIES ABOUT POSSIBLE GOJ POLICY SHIFT. PRIME MINISTER MIKI, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA AND ENTIRE CABINET HAVE BEEN SEEN TO REAFFIRM

IN DIET AND FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENTS THAT JAPAN'S POSITION HAS NOT CHANGED AND THAT ALL FOUR ISLANDS MUST BE RETURNED BEFORE PEACE TREATY WITH SOVIETS CAN BE SIGNED. LDP REACTION, AS DESCRIBED TO EMBOFF BY LDP FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL CHAIRMAN KITAZAWA RANGED FROM DISBELIEF TO SHOCK AND THEN DISMAY. HE COMMENTED THAT SINCE HIRASAWA NEITHER PARTY NOR GOVERNMENT MEMBER, THERE LITTLE THAT LDP COULD DO EXCEPT "WONDER WHY PRIME MINISTER LISTENS TO SUCH ADVISERS."

3. COMMENT: HIRASAWA PROPOSAL, AND PARTICULARLY MOTIVATIONS BEHIND IT, WILL FORM CUD FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMENTATORS IN TOKYO, PEKING AND MOSCOW FOR SOME TIME TO COME. INITIAL RUMINATIONS HAVE PRODUCED FOLLOWING HYPOTHESES:

A) PROPOSAL IS HIRASAWA'S OWN, PRIVATELY CONCEIVED, AND INDEPENDENTLY PRESENTED.

B) PROPOSAL IS TACTICAL MANEUVER APPROVED IN PRIVATE BY PRIME MINISTER MIKI, DESIGNED TO CONFUSE SOVIETS AND SOFTEN MOSCOW'S INEVITABLE ADVERSE REACTION TO JAPANESE CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH CHINESE ON CHINESE TERMS.

C) PROPOSAL IS TRIAL BALLOON FOR GENUINE POLICY CHANGE ULTIMATELY ENVISAGED BY MIKI.

4. WE WOULD HESITATE TO SWALLOW ANY OF THE ABOVE WHOLE, BUT ARE INTRIGUED MOST BY IDEA OF PROPOSAL AS TACTICAL MANEUVER. THOUGH HIRASAWA HAS BEEN KNOWN TO FAVOR ACCEPTING SOVIET POSITION FOR SEVERAL YEARS, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL THAT HE WOULD PICK THE PRESENT TO PUSH PROPOSAL WITHOUT CHECKING FIRST WITH PRIME MINISTER. HIRASAWA IS HAVING TOO GOOD A TIME AS MIKI'S EMINENCE GRISE, TO JEOPARDIZE THIS POSITION FOR SAKE OF THIS PARTICULAR PRINCIPLE. AT THE SAME TIME, APPROVING USE OF AUTHORITATIVE BUT PRIVATE AND DISOWNABLE INSTRUMENT TO ADVANCE UNORTHODOX VIEWS FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES IS QUITE A COMMON MIKI TECHNIQUE, MOST RECENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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EMPLOYED, MANY OBSERVERS HERE BELIEVE, IN CONNECTION WITH VISIT OF LDP MEMBER AND CLOSE MIKI FRIEND UTSUNOMIYA TO PYONGYAND IN AUGUST. SHOULD MIKI BE PLANNING MOVE TOWARD CHINESE, AS HE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SAYING THIS SUMMER, HE MIGHT SEE HIRASAWA ARTICLE AS USEFUL WAY TO SOW SEEDS OF DOUBT IN SOVIET MINDS ABOUT JAPANESE RESOLVE AND HINT THAT TOKYO MIGHT BE MORE FLEXIBLE THAN OFFICIALLY ADMITTED. COMPLICATED THOUGH THIS HYPOTHESIS MAY BE IT SEEMS LESS FAR OUT THAN THE THOUGHT THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF REFUSING SOVIET OFFERS TO RETURN HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN, SHOULD NOW BE PREPARING PUBLIC OPINION FOR A CHANGE.  
HODGSON

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